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REPORT OF THE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

TO THE SEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION
WORKERS EDUCATION BUREAU OF AMERICA,
WASHINGTON, D. C.
OCTOBER 3 AND 4, 1933.

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WORKERS EDUCATION BUREAU OF AMERICA

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TO THE SEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION
WORKERS' EDUCATION BUREAU OF AMERICA,
WASHINGTON, D. C.
OCTOBER 5 AND 6, 1939

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

Convention Call 1

Foreword. 2

I. Workers' Education and the American Labor Movement . . 4

II. Meetings of the Executive Committee. 12

III. Activities of the Workers Education Bureau 15

1. General Information. 15
2. Educational Advice 16
3. Field Representatives. 17
4. Labor Institutes 18
5. Radio Series 21
6. Publications 24
7. Cooperative Book Service 25
8. Registry of Teachers 25
9. Research 26
10. Membership 26
11. Finances of the Bureau 26
12. Contacts with Other Educational Bodies 31

IV. The General Development of Workers' Education in the United States. 32

1. Resident Workers' Schools. 32
2. Summer Schools 32
3. Labor Institutes 34
4. Study Classes. 34
5. Cooperation with the Affiliated Schools for Workers. 35

V. The Problems of American Workers' Education. 37

1. Financing Workers' Education 37
2. Teacher Training 45
3. Text-Books 45
4. Curriculum 46
5. Basis of Cooperation 46

VI. Conclusion 47

CONVENTION CALL

The passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act as the major plank in the New Administration's program for economic restoration stands out as an important turning point in our political and industrial life. It marks the beginning of a planned economy for the United States. It affords an unparalled opportunity for Labor to enter fully into partnership with American industry. It places upon the educational movement for Labor a new responsibility to assist the Worker in his new task. The Workers' Education movement is prepared to respond to this new challenge.

The Workers Education Bureau of America which completed in April of this year twelve years of continuous educational service to American Labor stands ready to assist in this new responsibility. Because of the depression, the Biennial Convention of the Bureau was postponed in 1931 and 1932 by referendum vote. The officers of the Bureau, however, are of the opinion that we have reached a critical point where the capacity of the Labor movement to respond to the new privileges under the Recovery Act depends upon a closer knowledge and understanding by Labor of the terms of this Act. With this there can be little disagreement. The meeting of the American Federation of Labor in Washington, D. C., and the dedication of the Gompers Memorial provide an appropriate time for such a meeting of the Bureau.

We, therefore, invite the national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies, local unions, departments of workers' education, trade union colleges, study classes and other workers' educational enterprises, to the National Convention of the Workers Education Bureau of America to be opened in Washington October 3rd, 1933 and continue in session until its work is completed.

The sessions of the Convention will be held in the New Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C. The first session will begin on Tuesday afternoon, October 3rd, at 2:00 o'clock.

WILLIAM GREEN, Honorary President
THOMAS E. BURKE, President
MATTHEW WOLL, Chairman, Exec. Com.
THOMAS KENNEDY, Treasurer
FANNIA M. COHN
PAUL W. FULLER
JOHN L. KERCHEN
ELMER E. MILLIMAN
VICTOR A. OLANDER
GEORGE W. PERKINS
HARRY A. RUSSELL
SPENCER MILLER, JR., Secretary

FOREWORD

During the four years that have elapsed since the representatives of the workers' educational enterprises and unions affiliated with the Workers Education Bureau of America met in national convention in the city of Washington, a great economic crisis has occurred in our national life. Seven months after the adjournment of the Convention of the Bureau in April 1929 the stock market crash in October marked the final collapse of inflated stock prices and contributed to one of the most serious depressions in our entire history as a nation. Its continuance has become a major concern of the American people. In the presence of this economic collapse working people have been subjected to dislocations in their industrial life which have been devastating in the extreme. The army of the unemployed, which at the outset of the depression numbered but a few million of workers, has steadily mounted month by month and year by year until in January of 1933 there were no less than thirteen millions of unemployed workers in the country. Nor was this all. Half again as many were employed on part time, according to the most conservative estimates. Thus in all there have been no less than twenty million workers whose incomes have been either entirely cut off or drastically reduced by unemployment. The human consequences of this widespread distress have been evident on every hand: undernourishment, disease, delinquency, disintegration of family life and general demoralization. In the face of such distress American workers have exhibited a patience and fortitude which have been heroic. In addition, many labor educational activities have either been discontinued or greatly reduced because of the drastic curtailment of funds.

But this economic dislocation in the life of many industrial workers has had the ultimate effect of stimulating a new interest in workers' education. In the first year of the depression workers everywhere were seeking desperately and in vain the prosperity which they were told was just "around the corner." The illusion of the return of the era of profitless prosperity was completely shattered as prices and wages continued to decline after a brief recovery and indications pointed to the situation growing worse rather than better. After the first reaction to this situation workers began again to realize the changing character of the economic situation and the necessity of exploring even more thoroughly the nature of our economic order. Accordingly, the apathy which had characterized the response on the part of workers to the interest in education during the first year of the depression was replaced by a growing interest on their part in a study of plans of economic recovery. When it became clear that a recovery of the economic conditions of the decade of the twenties was no longer possible and that a more thoroughgoing reconstruction of our economic system would

FOREWORD

become necessary, the interest on the part of workers in education was increasingly quickened.

For the past two years, then, the interest of American wage earners in the whole field of workers' education has been stimulated by a widespread interest and desire on the part of workers for understanding social trends and the nature of the proposals for economic reconstruction. This interest was heightened by the national elections in the fall of 1932, which focused to a marked extent the necessity for economic reconstruction in the program of the New Deal. The response of the electorate to this new concept of a planned economy, if somewhat vague as to specific details, reflected a widespread desire for a new readjustment of our economic system.

With the advent of the new administration and the inauguration of the program of the New Deal, and in particular with the establishment of the plans for the National Industrial Recovery Act, this interest and eagerness on the part of workers for understanding the present economic situation has been greatly quickened. Throughout this country the requests of labor for information and guidance to enable them to understand their new rights and responsibilities have been everywhere manifest. Within the limitations of funds and personnel the Bureau has responded to the requests for such guidance and information in a manner which has brought forth the generous commendation of leaders both of labor and of education. The experience of the Bureau in the past six months in attempting to interpret the Recovery program has been a momentous one; it does indicate perhaps more clearly than anything else how completely the interest of the workers is centered in the programs for social reconstruction. The striking announcement of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration on September 15 to make Federal funds available for a program of general adult education among the unemployed marks a new milestone in the whole movement for adult education in the United States. It gives special focus to this report and the deliberations of the National Convention of the Bureau. The details of this proposal are considered elsewhere in this report but its significance is underlined here.

In a word, then, an attempt has been made through the pages of this report to trace the manner in which labor has kept alive its old interest in education during the past four difficult years and the steps by which a new interest in workers' education has been awakened. It is the hope of the Executive Committee that this record for the past four years, with all of its discouragements, may serve as a commentary on the effect of a great depression on the workers' education movement. At no time during this period can it be said more truthfully that the road ahead looks promising.

I. WORKERS' EDUCATION AND THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

The workers' education movement by its very definition is closely integrated with the aims and objectives of the labor movement. It could not long continue without an organization of industrial workers. The record of the past four years has made it abundantly evident that workers' education in the United States has come to be considered an indivisible part of the regular program of activities of the American Federation of Labor. This fact is disclosed not only by the records of the conventions of the Federation but in the program and policies of the unions throughout the country. It is further disclosed by the manner in which workers who have had the privileges of such educational opportunities are being placed in responsible posts in the trade union movement; their number increases year by year.

The more formal type of recognition is through the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. During the past four years that recognition has been most marked in each successive convention. Since the last national convention of the Workers Education Bureau the Federation has met four times in the following cities: Toronto, 1929; Boston, 1930; Vancouver, B.C., 1931; and Cincinnati, in November, 1932. There will be found in the report of the Executive Council to each of these conventions a section devoted to the work of the Bureau. While these sections of necessity were brief records of the year's activity, they disclose unmistakably the endorsement by the Federation of the continued functioning of the Bureau during a period of widespread economic distress.

When, for example, the annual convention of the Federation met in Toronto early in October 1929, there was little appreciation on the part of the delegates that the stock market collapse was so imminent and that its net effect would be to precipitate the country into one of the most serious depressions in our history. It was perhaps characteristic of the degree to which all groups in the community were unconscious of the impending disaster. To this annual convention a brief report was issued as a supplementary report of the Executive Council, setting forth the activities of the Bureau, which included such matters as the Sixth National Convention, the election of new officers, a consideration of the status of Brookwood Labor College, the assignment of a field worker to Elizabethton, Tennessee, for the organization campaign in the South, and plans for a Congress of Labor in Worcester, Massachusetts. A more extended statement of the work of the Bureau is to be found in the address of the Secretary, which was not only printed in full in the proceedings of the convention, but constituted a focal point for not a little discussion. In particular the Secretary referred to the work of Mr. Fuller as a representative of the Bureau at Elizabethton and its particular relevance to the proposed organization program of the Federation. To quote a single paragraph:

> "He (Mr. Fuller) has not 'gone down to the South,' as some people choose to use the phrase, with a spirit of conde-

> scension, with a kind of superior virtue on the part of the North toward the problems of the South. He has gone into the homes of these fine men and women of the Tennessee mountains. He has shared their humble fare, he has preached in their churches, he has taught in their schools, he has identified himself with the social, economic and spiritual life of these people. He has carried to them the message of education, the message of hope, the message of their own future possibilities in terms of a growing and functioning trade union movement. He has held great mass meetings, he has held smaller meetings in the various lodges and halls; he has gone out in the countryside to talk to these men and women. Wherever he has gone it has been with that keen apprehension that he is a friend and an interpreter to these people."

In the concluding paragraphs of this address there was repeated emphasis on the necessity and the importance of the leisure time program, and the broad purposes of the movement.

The Toronto convention will be remembered for two rather notable institutes which were developed in connection with its program. The one was concerned with the problem of union-management cooperation, to which representatives of the railroad organizations and the President of the Canadian National contributed a most stimulating and useful discussion. In many respects it gave to this convention held on Canadian soil an international touch which was very marked. In addition to this there was a special session set aside for a consideration of the Southern organizing campaign. The plans for this institute as it developed were worked out under the direction of the Bureau and proved to be of commanding interest to the delegates. On the basis of this program an organization campaign was launched in the South, the net effects of which are evident to those familiar with the problems of industrialization in this section of the Southland.

The report of the Convention Committee on Education commended the work of the Bureau and took occasion to make clear the Federation's policy on the distinct character of trade union policy in these words:

> "The trade union was 'born of necessity'; it is the instrument of the workers, created by the workers in their behalf. The trade union is the household of the wage earner; it is his device; he is responsible for it and to it. For this reason the trade union movement has laid it down as a fundamental principle that the development of the policy of the trade union is a trade union function; it will not surrender the policy-making function to any outside agency.
>
> "The Federation, in the second place, attaches great importance to the development of adult education opportuni-

ties for its members. It is in line with its century-old championship of educational opportunities for all. The Federation and its affiliated unions have given genuine support to workers' education undertakings that have been guided by educational aims. It has opposed the propaganda tendency of some of these undertakings. It has at all times refused to yield its primary function in the execution of policy to any agency."

When this report was submitted to the convention, it brought forth a commendation from the floor of the convention of a striking character. There was also introduced at this convention a resolution proposing the creation of a National Labor College for workers' education, by Delegate Harry W. Fox of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor. We reprint in full this resolution, which was referred to the Executive Council for consideration:

"WHEREAS, There is a need for the operation and maintenance of a National Labor College, or colleges, wherein men and women of the labor movement may be educated and afforded a training that will enable them to carry on Workers' Education in their own or other communities; and

"WHEREAS, It is essential that such college or colleges shall conform in their teachings, concerning the labor movement with the recognized code and practices as accepted and endorsed by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations, in order that uniformity may prevail; and

"WHEREAS, Such college or colleges will only be possible when they are inspired, established, financed and conducted through the regular channels of the labor movement and under the direct supervision of the President of the American Federation of Labor; and

"WHEREAS, With the ever-changing aspects of our economic life, with their problems of mass production, substitution of the machine for man-power, with increased unemployment; the development of giant power, all bringing with them new problems, necessitating an intimate study of these as well as of more effective means for combating company unionism; and of better equipping our members for the active organizing work that is being demanded from us if we are to maintain even our comparative position and influence; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, By the delegates to the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we authorize our incoming Executive Council to give such consideration as is necessary to the above proposal, to devise ways and means for the establishment of such institution or institutions and, if necessary for the success of the movement, that they be empowered to levy an

additional one cent per member per month on the affiliated membership for such period as may be necessary to carry out the objects of this resolution, such levy not to be for a longer period than one year."

The Executive Council report on the Workers Education Bureau, as submitted to the Boston convention the following year (1930), included among the matters for special commendation the New England Industrial Congress held in Worcester, the special Power and Textile Conference and the development of projects for cooperation between the State Federations of Labor and the State Universities. There was a reference also to the publication program of the Workers Education Bureau Press.

The annual address of the Secretary to the convention made further additions to this report and focused attention on three problems dealing with the question of leisure time, a planned economy, and industrial partnership, which have been something of a forecast of the broader program of activity as it has developed during the past four years. "There is an old saying," said the Secretary, "that in a democracy every man is his own economist. The result is that on every public question and on every economic issue there are a vast number of proposals for the solution of the particular problem. In our present predicament of widespread unemployment we have a host of remedies proposed from plans to stabilize the dollar to the provisions of unemployment insurance. I do not purpose to discuss any of these proposed remedies this afternoon. But one thing I do want to leave with you. We are moving in this country, more and more, by almost an unresistable force, toward a planned economy which will effectively prevent the recurrence of these devastating periods of enforced idleness. Nothing less than a planned economy will substantially lessen these cycles of depression. Because the problem is not local but world-wide such a planned economy will take account of world-wide economic conditions. If we are moving, as I believe we are, toward a planned economy, it is of the utmost importance that organized labor should become educated labor to make its full contribution to the statesmanship which must inevitably be a part of such an economy."

The Committee on Education in its report to the convention made specific reference to the substantial progress made in the program of the Bureau during the year, notably on the Worcester Congress, the Chicago Adult Education project and the plan of cooperation with State Universities. It is printed in full on pages 285-287 of the Proceedings.

At the convention in Vancouver in 1931 the Federation celebrated the completion of the first cycle of fifty years of its existence. In the light of this record of half a century of service a summary was presented to this convention of the fifty years of service. In a section in the Executive Council's report devoted to the contribution of the Federation to the field of American education there is a brief reference to the service of

labor in the field of adult education. These brief paragraphs are as follows:

> "We have endorsed special campaigns to eliminate adult illiteracy, special classes for teaching English to non-English speaking people, vocational re-training for the unemployed.
>
> "We have promoted undertakings in workers' education and asked for wider opportunities for all adults through resident and non-resident classes in tax supported colleges and universities.
>
> "We have urged labor representation upon boards of education and as directors of public libraries. We have also urged larger appropriations for public libraries in order that they might extend their educational opportunities for both minors and adults."

A more ample statement, however, of the services of the Workers Education Bureau to the program of the convention was included in accordance with previous practice in the report of the Executive Council. This statement, which was of necessity a brief one, was supplemented by a full and complete statement by the Secretary of the Bureau in his address on "The World Crisis in Workers' Education." In many respects it represented a more complete statement of the Bureau's program than had been given in previous conventions and is incorporated in full in the Proceedings of the Convention. Two items of this report which are particularly deserving of emphasis are the one dealing with the pioneer development of the Labor Institute at Rutgers University and the other setting forth the significant educational work done in Colorado in connection with the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company. After outlining the steps in the growth of labor interest in union-management cooperation in the coal industry, the Secretary concluded: "If the Workers' Education Movement of the State of Colorado did no other thing than provide the vehicle for so important a project as Union-Management co-operation in the coal mines it would be justified a hundred fold." In the concluding words of this address dealing with the matter of the new challenge to labor of the new scheme of national planning through a National Economic Council there are three brief paragraphs which may well be included here:

> "Here is a task that will challenge the intelligence and the capacity of labor in the years to come. This means entering boldly into the very center of our life. If we move from individualism to collectivism, as indeed we must, it is important that labor be intelligent and informed. It is obvious that labor should be an indivisible part of any program of national planning and such a National Economic Council for the creation of plans. But labor's contribution to either activity will be in direct proportion to its knowledge, its capacity, and its imagination.

"Dare we men of labor embark on so great an undertaking to bring the forces of life under social control for the welfare of all mankind?

"In the name of those unnumbered pioneers of labor, by whose sacrifice and devotion this movement was erected, dare we do less as we look back on the half century that has passed and look out upon the fifty years that lie ahead?"

In the report of the Committee on Education there was a striking reference to the ten years of educational service of the Bureau; it is a summary of the position of labor toward the Bureau. This part of the report while extended in length contains an important record of activities of the Bureau during the middle year of the depression:

"The Workers Education Bureau of America completed in April of the year 1931 ten years of educational service to the American wage earners. In that decade its educational objectives have been made clear, its methods have been tested by a wide variety of experience; and a most valuable body of material has been developed. The Bureau has acquired a status and a reputation both at home and abroad which are the result of a decade of effective leadership in the general field of adult education. Upon its successful completion of this first decade of constructive educational service to American wage earners your committee recommends to this Fifty-First Annual Convention that it record its appreciation and admiration for the high-minded and unselfish devotion of the officers and directors of the Bureau in carrying forward this pioneering but essential service to our Labor movement.

"Your committee commends the Workers Education Bureau on the range and variety of its activities during the past year. The work of the Bureau has been carried forward in a most constructive manner. The accomplishments are the more significant in view of the added burdens that have been placed upon the staff of the Bureau."

The Committee gave special endorsement to the Rutgers Labor Institute in these words:

"The most notable work of the Bureau during the year and the outstanding project in the entire workers' education movement was the Labor Institute held upon the campus of Rutgers University in the State of New Jersey. The manner with which the Bureau succeeded in drawing into a cooperative agreement and working arrangement the State University and State Federation of Labor is not only a notable achievement, but an example for other state federations to follow. For a good many years the Federation

> of Labor has declared its belief in closer cooperation between our tax supported universities and the labor forces in the several states. Convention resolutions have added to the weight of this conviction. It has remained for the Workers Education Bureau to work out the method and practical details, first in the California plan for non-resident study groups, and second the Rutgers plan for a resident institute. On previous occasions the convention has discussed with entire approval the California plan. On this occasion your committee desires to record its enthusiastic approval of the Rutgers plan."

It also commended the proposed radio project and the work on visual education as developed.

When, finally, the Federation of Labor convened in the city of Cincinnati in November 1932, hard upon the close of the Presidential election, there was a feeling of new hope in the new administration and an abundance of optimism in the program of the New Deal. At this time also the report of Technocracy achieved an extraordinary amount of publicity for their findings, that had eclipsed all other subjects of consideration for a few brief months. The report on the Workers Education Bureau as submitted by the Executive Council carried an encouraging note of the increased range of activities which had been carried on in spite of the depression, such as the Labor Institutes and the radio program. "In summary," states the Report, "it may be said that the Bureau during the eleventh year of its educational service to American wage-earners has set a new standard of achievement for its work. It is deserving of the loyal support of the American labor movement which it has enjoyed in increasing measure."

In the light of the current discussion about the subject of technocracy, the address of the Secretary was directed to an examination of the significance of the report of the technocrats as a challenge both to labor and to education. This report brought forth so wide a measure of interest that it was reprinted as a special pamphlet and issued by the American Federation of Labor.

The Convention Committee on Education's report is notable for the extent of the appraisal given this work. A list of the items included will give an idea of its range:

Rutgers Labor Institute
Michigan Labor Institute
Nashville Labor Institute
Mississippi Labor Institute
Colorado Labor Institute
Proposed Institute in Illinois
American Labor and the Nation Radio Series
Affiliated Summer Schools for Workers in Industry

Des Moines Adult Education Project
Occupational Retraining for the Unemployed

In addition to the warm commendation on the part of the Committee on Education of the services of the Bureau in connection with the radio program, there was introduced a resolution on the labor radio service by Delegate Fox of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor, which because of its great importance is reproduced here:

"WHEREAS, The last series of ten lectures broadcast over the Columbia Broadcasting System under the general direction of Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary Workers Education Bureau, as well as the series of ten preceding these, proved not only informative and entertaining but offered a constructive contribution to American letters; and

"WHEREAS, We are informed that other series are to follow these over the same national hook-up, and we believe that these would be listened to more generally if advertised more widely; and

"WHEREAS, We deem talks of this nature to be a most valuable adjunct to the creation of a better understanding of the purposes and aims of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations; now, therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That we authorize the Executive Council to give their fullest cooperation to the National Committee on Education by Radio to the end that the date, time and name of the speakers to broadcast be given the widest possible publicity; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That all member Journals of the International Labor Press be requested to run such list of projected broadcasts in their columns under the common heading, 'Labor Broadcasts,' and giving underneath this heading the date, time of day, and name of speaker, so that the greatest number may be advised of the important addresses."

Such very briefly is the record of the functional relationship between the adult education program of the Federation and the activities of the Workers Education Bureau. It gives an authentic picture of the extent to which the organized labor movement has come to conceive of the Bureau as its own instrumentality through which to carry on its program of adult education. Toward its support labor has contributed for nine years; it has done more - it has given moral as well as financial backing.

II. MEETINGS AND DECISIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee has held eight meetings since the last national convention - April 7, 1929, October 14 and October 15, 1929, February 28, 1930, October 7, 1931, July 22, 1932, November 22, 1932, October 2, 1933.

These meetings were held either at the headquarters of the Workers Education Bureau in New York City or at the various cities where the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor have been held. Because of the serious reduction in the finances of the Bureau it has been necessary to economize in the matter of the holding of Executive Committee meetings. With that end in view such meetings have been held each year in connection with the annual conventions of the Federation of Labor without added cost to the Bureau. The Constitution provides for semi-annual meetings of the Committee, but this provision has been waived for the sake of economy. It was felt that in the absence of a national convention such action would be approved by the membership at large.

Some of the more important actions taken by the Executive Committee at its regular and special meetings during the four-year period include the following:

1. Re-election of Matthew Woll as Chairman of the Executive Committee and Thomas Kennedy as Treasurer.

2. Designation of John Kerchen as Pacific Coast representative of the Bureau.

3. Authorize Secretary to serve as a consultant on industrial relations to the National Council of the Episcopal Church.

4. Authorize Secretary to publish such discussions or addresses of the Sixth Annual Convention as seemed desirable.

5. Decision that Labor Colleges or Study Classes should make no contacts with outside groups such as forums without approval of Central Labor Unions; that contact should be directly with the Central Labor Union.

6. Approval of a Textile Conference for New England.

7. Approval of a Power Conference for New England.

8. Approval of the holding of a New England Labor Congress at Worcester, Mass.

9. Authorize Secretary to visit the universities in connection with a program of cooperation with the State Federations of Labor in the development of projects in workers' education.

10. Designation of Paul Fuller to become educational director

at Elizabethton, Tennessee, his expenses to be paid jointly by the United Textile Workers of America and the Bureau.

11, Approval of a plan for the establishment of a correspondence department in the Bureau, provided funds can be secured and the cocperation of the Federation also assured.

12. Authorize Secretary to tender the good offices of the Bureau to cooperate with the research activities of the Railroad Labor Organization.

13. Request President Green to send out a letter to all unaffiliated national and international unions to undertake active affiliation with the Bureau.

14. Authorize removal of the headquarters of the Bureau to 1440 Broadway, New York City.

15. Authorize Bureau to assume obligation of paying the premium on the insurance policy taken out by the Secretary making the Bureau beneficiary through the Union Labor Life Insurance Company.

16. Authorize Bureau to borrow the amount of $13,500 from the Federation Bank and Trust Company.

17. Decision to discontinue the services of Mr. Fuller and Mr. Russell as field representatives of the Bureau at the conclusion of their special assignments or projects.

18. Request Secretary to advise members of the Executive Committee at the close of each quarter of the financial standing of the Bureau.

19. Authorize consolidation of bank loans and their repayment in four quarterly instalments.

20. Authorize extension of the period of Mr. Fuller's service in view of the special needs of his family.

21. Authorize Secretary to notify President Green of the willingness of the Bureau to cooperate in the preparation of a simple text book for organization among Southern workers.

22. Authorize holding conferences with the railroad brotherhoods holding membership affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

23. Authorize presentation of the application to the American Association for Adult Education for $5,000 for a correspondence program.

24. Designation of the Secretary to serve as a member of the Board of Directors of the National Advisory Council on the

Radio in Education.

25. Authorize submission to referendum of the membership the holding of a National Convention.

26. Designation of the Chairman, Secretary, and Mr. Russell to confer with the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration on a proposed research program in the field of labor economics.

27. Authorize Secretary to confer with the various international unions about briefs prepared in arbitration proceedings, with the thought of keeping them on file for reference purposes.

28. Vote of thanks to the New School of Social Research for their generous cooperation in housing the Bureau for the past nine years.

29. Authorize the Bureau to cooperate with but not sponsor foreign lecturers.

30. Vote of thanks to the donor of the Labor Text Book Fund and the Trustees for turning over unexpended balance to the Workers Education Bureau Press.

31. Approval of the plan to make the Bureau a constituent part of the Federation, subject to development of practical plan.

32. Authorize the officers to present an application to the Carnegie Corporation for an emergency grant of $12,000.

33. Authorize Secretary to serve as the Secretary of the Labor Committee of the National Advisory Council on the Radio in Education and compensation for such additional editorial and administrative services.

34. Authorize submission to the President and Executive Council of the Federation of a plan for an appraisal of the existing educational activities carried on by the American Federation of Labor either directly or indirectly.

35. Authorize the officers to present an application to the Carnegie Corporation for an emergency grant of $17,000 - $5,000 of which was for a radio program.

36. Approve the temporary readjustment of the salary schedule of the staff on a sliding scale of 20 per cent for the Secretary and a proportionate reduction for each member of the staff.

37. Authorize Secretary to continue service to unions unable to continue their affiliation fees until such time as a resumption of payment is possible.

III. THE ACTIVITIES OF THE WORKERS EDUCATION BUREAU

The work of the Bureau during the past four years has followed in the main the lines of development which had been laid down in the preceding nine years of its existence. Certain changes, however, have been made both in the nature of the activities that have been carried on and in the direction of certain other projects which have been developed. These varied activities may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. General Information

a. Workers' Education News. The Workers' Education News Service, which was begun in 1927, has continued during the past four years with but two interruptions to serve as the chief medium for the diffusion of information about the workers' education movement in this country. The influence of the news service, which is a feature of the International Labor News Service, designed to serve the Labor papers of this country, has clearly been widened since the beginning of the economic depression. Originally intended mainly to aid the American Federation of Labor in its educational endeavors for industrial workers, a much larger group of public speakers, students of economic subjects, teachers and authors, have found it a source of helpful information.

As regards the opportunities provided to the News Service of the Workers Education Bureau to be of assistance to the worker educationally, there has been little cause for complaint. Largely through the series of lectures delivered by its Secretary in all parts of the country, under the auspices of many labor groups, as well as in his capacity as consultant on industry of the Protestant Episcopal Church, at which he invariably spoke of the most pressing problems of the day, an abundance of helpful and timely material has been supplied, supplemented by important contributions by eminent college and university professors, distinguished labor leaders and prominent scholars who make the study of economics a specialty.

Aside from these courses of information, the plan of combining the profound scholarly judgments of college professors with the practical knowledge of outstanding labor leaders in the organization and make-up of institutes in various sections of the country has been most productive. Those looking for the origination of some of the newer ideas, which have been translated into working realities in the history-making enactments of the New Deal, will find it profitable to consult the speeches and findings of these institutes, notably the Institute of Public Affairs held at the University of Virginia as far back as July 1931, at which nationally prominent men unequivocally declared for the necessity of a program of economic planning as being of "transcendent need in this country."

The impression of the increased popularity and wider influence of this news service is derived from the many who have

called at the Bureau's office to consult its files and from the letters received from Labor organizations and individuals who spoke in commendation of its value to them as a source of information.

b. The Magazine Service. The magazine service which was started auspiciously with the railroad labor journals was transformed and made a part of the News Service. For the past three years a monthly article by Professor Irving Fisher entitled "Short Stories on Wealth" has been widely syndicated. This notable series of economic articles, which have numbered 88 in all, was acknowledged as perhaps the leading series of brief economic articles that have been prepared for the labor press. These articles were widely reprinted in the journals of the affiliated organizations and became an essential part of the monthly publications of many of the trade union journals.

c. Workers' Education Monthly. The plan as proposed to the last convention of devoting a section of the American Federationist to the subject of Workers' Education, to be supplied by the Bureau, was continued during the first two years of the depression. This material was brought together as a quarterly publication and sent as a part of the service to each of the affiliated members of the Bureau. Two years ago, however, as a result of a determined effort to eliminate every additional expense, the Bureau was compelled to discontinue even so modest an item as the Workers' Education Quarterly. This has made it necessary to rely entirely upon the news service, issued fortnightly, as a medium both of the Bureau and for the movement as a whole.

The suspension of the Quarterly has been less serious than it might have been. The Journal of Adult Education, which has come to occupy an important position in the whole field of adult education, has opened its pages generously for reports on workers' educational activities both among its general articles and in its news notes. Accordingly, systematic use has been made of this publication for reprinting data about workers' educational projects. Until such time as funds warrant the resumption of the plan for a Quarterly, we recommend to the convention the continuance of the plan under which the Bureau has operated.

2. Educational Advice

The requests for advice during the past four years have been varied, in connection with the development of labor institutes, week-end conferences, summer schools, study groups and chautauquas. The staff of the Bureau has responded to these requests for guidance, whether they come through interviews or through correspondence. Since the Bureau has had to dispense with the services of two of its field representatives, it has been incumbent upon the Secretary to travel around as widely as possible to various sections of the country to confer with local groups and to assist them in conducting institutes and conferences and to help them in the setting up of classes and summer schools. In all the Secretary has traveled upwards of 150,000

miles in behalf of the Bureau program - having made no less than four trips to the Pacific Coast, five trips to the Gulf of Mexico, four trips into Canada, and countless other trips to other sections of the country, north and south, east and west. A full account of the various institutes set up by the Bureau in the course of the past four years is summarized in another section of this report. It may be sufficient, therefore, to indicate here that within the limits of both time and money the Bureau has been able to keep in touch with groups in widely scattered parts of this country.

3. Field and District Representatives

Shortly after the depression began the Bureau found it necessary to curtail its expenditures for field representatives. The services of its field representative in New England and then its representative in the South had to be dispensed with. The record of their services may be briefly summarized as follows:

a. Paul W. Fuller. In the summer of 1929 Paul W. Fuller, Director of Workers' Education in Passaic, was sent to Elizabethton, Tennessee, in response to a request for assistance in connection with the organizing campaign, to begin a program of workers' education among the workers of Happy Valley in Tennessee. At the outset the Bureau cooperated with the United Textile Workers of America in defraying one half of his salary. When in 1930 it became clear that the Bureau's resources would not permit it to continue to bear any longer one half of Mr. Fuller's expenses, the Federation of Labor generously agreed to take over the Bureau's share. It has continued to carry on Mr. Fuller's services during the entire depression.

The importance of his work has been commented upon very favorably by unprejudiced observers in Tennessee. He not only grew to know the mountaineers but had the closest of associations with them in their homes, churches and their social gatherings. The chautauquas which he conducted and the general meetings which were held under his direction were both novel and notable in that section.

From Elizabethton Mr. Fuller was sent to Danville, Virginia, where with considerable effectiveness he developed a program of workers' education among the workers of the Danville textile mills. During the prolonged strike and difficult days of readjustment Mr. Fuller's wise counsel was of the greatest value to labor. With the development of the organizing program further in the South, Mr. Fuller was transferred to Augusta, Georgia. For the past two and a half years he has succeeded in laying the foundations for a healthy and vigorous workers' education movement. While he has not been officially a field representative of the Workers Education Bureau in the past two years, he has repeatedly represented the Bureau in the development of local programs of workers' education.

Among the notable accomplishments of his work that have

come out of the depression has been the erection in Bath, South Carolina, of a labor temple devoted to workers' education. The labor and materials for this building were given by the local trades people and the members of the local movement contributed their services in erecting the building. It is one of the first such enterprises that has come to our attention and merits a great deal of commendation for Mr. Fuller.

b. Harry A. Russell. The focus of Mr. Russell's work as New England representative of the Bureau was the New England Labor Congress, which was convened in Worcester in October 1929, to consider the problem of industrial changes in New England and the new role of labor. Two hundred fifty delegates came together from the six New England states in the city where six years before the New England Council had been started. The plan of the Congress was worked out with great care and proved to be a striking accomplishment both in its organization and in its general direction. The deliberations of this Congress proved to be of such historic value that they were made a part of a pamphlet which was published jointly by the Labor Committee and the Workers Education Bureau under the title of "The Industrial Future of New England." This Congress was followed by a Power and Textile Conference in Boston. In addition a Continuation Committee was developed.

Financial restrictions alone made it necessary to discontinue Mr. Russell's services. On a number of occasions since this, however, Mr. Russell has undertaken special assignments for the Bureau on a definite basis, which have been most useful in carrying forward workers' education projects in New England. The most recent of these was his service in connection with the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor and the Boston Central Labor Union, in which case Mr. Russell served as a liaison man to set up the labor institute in connection with the Recovery Program.

The experience of the Bureau with the two field representatives amply demonstrated the great value to the movement generally to have some competent representatives in the field. If and when funds are available for a resumption of such activities, it is the judgment of the Executive Committee that such an investment in services would be of the greatest value.

4. Labor Institutes

The program for Labor Institutes and Week-end Conferences as developed by the Bureau over the past ten years in cooperation with State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Unions and workers' educational enterprises has, during the past four years, been modified in important respects. The first modification has been the lengthening of the period of time; second, the broadening of the subjects to be considered; and third, the cooperation with institutions of higher learning.

The pioneer activity of the Bureau in this new type of project was at Rutgers University. The Institute was set up jointly with the cooperation of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor and Rutgers University. The initial enterprise was held on the campus of Rutgers University in June 1931, for a period of

five days on the subject of unemployment. The sessions of this Institute were conducted by representatives of the faculties of Rutgers, Princeton and New York Universities and proved highly instructive. With unusual generosity the plant of the university was placed at the disposal of members of the Institute; meals were served in the University Commons; sleeping accomodations were provided in the University dormitories;and the library; lecture halls, athletic field, were all used by the students. The success of this enterprise was most marked. As a result of the wide interest aroused in the Institute, there was a demand for similar projects to be set up on the campusus of various universities in different parts of the country. No less than twenty different universities requested information on how to proceed. Nearly as many State Federation of Labor asked for similar information. The Convention of the American Federation of Labor commended this whole program as set forth in Part I of this report.

The subject for the second Rutgers Institute in 1932 was "Financial Instability" and brought together a slightly smaller group of workers under similar advantages. In June of this year (1933) the third Rutgers Labor Institute was both larger in number and more representative in character. The subject of the conference was "Labor and the World Economic Situation". In all there were 130 in attendance, which included both workers and observers and faculty. Representatives of 38 different trades of both sexes were in attendance, which provided the widest cross-section ever to take part in an Institute. The success of the Institute for the third year was perhaps more pronounced than ever. One of the outcomes of the work was a proposal for setting up a state-wide association to carry on the educational endeavor so effectively begun at the Institute.

The programs of the Labor Institute as they have developed in different parts of the country have taken up timely subjects year by year. During the first year, for example, the programs turned on unemployment problems; during the second year on remedies for unemployment, such as Unemployment Insurance and National Planning. In 1933 the focus of these Labor Institutes has been on the National Industrial Recovery program and the general subject of economic reconstruction. It is at once an indication of the adaptability of this type of program to the problems with which wage earners are engaged. The commendation of the Federation of Labor as set forth in Part II of this report is proof of their value.

The spread of these Labor Institutes during the past four years has been interesting. Last year an Institute was set up on the campus of the University of Michigan with the cooperation of the State Federation of Labor to consider "The Unemployment Crisis and the Way out". A second such Institute in November of this year will consider the "N. R. A.". At Haverford College a Labor Institute was held in 1933 to discuss "Labor's Stake in the International Situation". At Nashville, Tennessee, a Labor

Institute set up by the Tennessee Federation of Labor with Vanderbilt University and George Peabody Teachers' College developed still a different but wholly successful technique. Institutes set up in other sections with the cooperation of the State Federations or other local groups have been uniformly satisfactory. The list of such Labor Institutes is extensive. Among the more outstanding which have been set up with the cooperation of the Bureau over the past four years are the following: Meredian and Gulfport, Miss.; Mobile, Ala.; Chattanooga and Nashville, Tenn.; Springfield, Worcester and Boston, Mass.; Syracuse, N.Y.; New York City; Fort Collins and Denver, Colo.; Madison, Wis.; New Haven, Conn.; Chicago, Ill.; Los Angeles, Calif.; Newark and Trenton, N. J.

The notable New England Labor Congress held in Worcester in October 1929 which brought together several hundred workers from the six New England States provided a notable example of still another project. Its full significance is referred to elsewhere in this report; its deliberations were incorporated in a booklet entitled, "The Industrial Future of New England".

The value of these Labor Institutes has nowhere been more effectively demonstrated than in connection with the discussion of the National Industrial Recovery Act during the summer of 1933. While reference is made to the extent and range of this program elsewhere in this report, it is important to record the fact that these Institutes proved to be one of the most effective devices developed to interpret the principles of the Recovery Act to members of organized labor. A half dozen centers have been suggested by President Green for the program this fall which bears further witness to the effectiveness of the method. These institutes, in a cord, constitute one of the most effective devices developed by the Bureau for carrying on workers' education programs and deserve an even wider measure of support for their extension.

5. The Radio and Workers' Education

The officers of the Bureau have discussed on repreated occasions the wider utilization of the radio in the development of a workers' education program. It seemed clear that so important an instrument as the radio, with its unlimited possibilities of conveying a message widely throughout the country, should be used as a device for the spread of knowledge about economic and industrial conditions. When, therefore, a radio station was established at Chicago under the auspices of the Chicago Federation of Labor the Bureau was glad to cooperate for a period of time in the development of materials to be sent out for broadcasting purposes through this station. However, the failure of this station to secure c clear channel after a long struggle and the necessity for a wider coverage redirected the thought of the Committee to exploring the possibility of the use of time under a network of stations. In the meantime a series of addresses on Workers' Education were delivered by the Secre tary over local stations in New York and vicinity.

When in 1931 the National Advisory Council on the Radio in Education was created to develop the medium of the radio for adult education purposes it was at once clear that an agency had been created which might serve to effect the purposes that the Executive Committee had in mind. The Secre tary was presently invited to become a member of the Governing Board of the Radio Council and accepted in accordance with the instructions received from the officers of the Bureau. When subsequently a Labor Committee was created under the chairmanship of Mattew Woll, together with Mr. Burke, Mr. Frey, Mr. Olander, Mr. Kennedy, and Mr. Wright, all active in the trade union movement, it became clear that there was an opportunity for the Bureau to experiment in this important field. When the Secretary of the Bureau was invited to serve as secretary of the Committee, he undertook to work out some techniques which had been developed as a result of the years of experimentation with the whole workers' education movement.

A group of the foremost members of the Federation was secured to cooperate in the development of a program of twenty lectures on the general subject of "American Labor and the Nation" which was broadcast over a nation-wide network of the Columbia Broadcasting System, of upwards of sixty stations in the United States and Canada, on Sundays from 1:00 to 1:30 o'clock. A very careful check was made to see to it that each of the speakers selected was competent to interpret his own field and equally able to present his matter over the radio. The first group of ten speakers was selected because of their competence to discuss certain historical phases of the Labor movement and its relationship to the development of the Republic. The list of

speakers for the first series, together with their subjects, is as follows:

William Green,	American Labor in the Nation
Victor A. Olander	How Labor Rose from Slavery to Freedom
John P. Frey	How Modern Industry Came to America
Thomas Kennedy	The Role of Labor in Early American History
Thomas E. Burke	A Hundred Years of the Labor Movement
Matthew Woll	The Policies of American Labor
Spencer Miller, Jr.	What Labor Has Done for Education
Victor A. Olander	How Labor Has Secured Free Speech
Matthew Woll	How Labor Shapes Public Opinion
John P. Frey	Labor In Politics

One of the notable features of this program was the inclusion at the end of each address of a ten-minute question or discussion period, which was conducted by the Secretary of the Committee. A wide variety of questions were received and from these a number selected for consideration and answering. It was obviously not possible to reply to all the questions received, but a selected group of those which had universal interest and were relevant to the subject were used each week in the discussion period. As a result of this form of discussion which followed the addresses, a lively interest was maintained for all the listeners. Copies of the individual addresses were printed by the University of Chicago Press and sold at ten cents a copy.

The second series of ten lectures was given during the fall of 1932, opening on Labor Sunday, September 4. The general purpose of this series was to outline the current labor problems from the standpoint of labor, but from a broad non-partisan outlook. This series of addresses, following the first, was given on Sunday noon from one to one-thirty over a nation-wide hook-up and brought together a group of the foremost experts in the Labor field, as follows:

Frank Morrison	The Closed and Open Shop
John L. Lewis	Wages and Hours
James Maloney	Technological Unemployment
Daniel Tobin	Labor and International Relations
Chester Wright	Labor and the News
Charles P. Howard	Collective Bargaining
James Wilson	Labor and Judicial Reform
Thomas Flaherty	Labor and Immigration
Philip Randolph	Labor and the Negro
Paul Scharrenberg	Labor Legislation

The plan for holding a discussion period following each of these addresses as inaugurated in the first series of ten was carried on during this second period and proved to be an increasingly

useful educational device so far as the listeners were concerned. Through the cooperation of the University of Chicago Press the separate addresses were published of the second series as well. These addresses have all been brought together by the Press in a single volume with a Preface by Levering Tyson, Director of the National Advisory Council on the Radio in Education, a letter of commendation by the Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, and a Foreword by the Secretary. In addition, a mechanical transcription was made of each one of these radio addresses which preserved for future use a complete record of this whole undertaking. While no very wide use has been made up to the present time of this series of mechanical transcriptions, due to the expense involved, it is confidently expected that at some future time a program will be worked out for the utilization of these broadcasts for local stations about the country.

This radio project, which was undertaken jointly by the Bureau with the National Advisory Council on the Radio in Education and the American Federation of Labor, proved to be such a marked success that it is now agreed that an effort should be made to extend this whole program widely throughout the country. In all it is estimated that over two million persons listened in to these programs. The judgment of the Federation on this program was set forth in a resolution adopted by the Federation at the Annual Convention in 1932 in part is as follows:

> "The value of the whole undertaking has been widely recognized, not only for the quality of the addresses but for the unique way in which the work has been carried on. The interest aroused in this series, which has reached countless thousands and perhaps millions of persons in this country and in Canada and South America, has been striking.
>
> "Your Committee knows of no service in recent years to present the general aims and purposes of Labor to the American people that has been more carefully conceived and prepared or more adequately presented, than this unique undertaking. It is a service of inestimable value to the Federation and reflects great credit upon the National Advisory Council of the Radio in Education and is a notable evidence of the public service on the part of the Columbia Broadcasting System in making their facilities available without charge. It is an achievement of historic value on the part of the Bureau.
>
> "Your Committee further commends the National Advisory Council on the Radio in Education for their helpful cooperation and the Columbia Broadcasting System for its generous donation of facilities, and we urge that this Convention express its unqualified approval of the continuance of this important educational undertaking under the general direction of the Workers Education Bureau".

The Radio Council is now engaged in the raising of the necessary funds to conduct the third series of labor programs and it is hoped that in the course of the next two months some notice will be given to this proposed plan.

It would be appropriate for this Convention, which will have before it both the bound volume of these addresses and a record of their presentation, to take some positive action with reference to the future relationship of Labor to the whole problem of the radio in workers' education.

6. Publications

The Workers Education Bureau Press, Inc., has continued its publication program during the depression on a very much reduced basis. The reduction in the sales of the Press was a uniform experience among all publishers during the depression.

The first publication of the Press in the fall of 1929 was the proceedings of the New England Labor Congress entitled, "The Industrial Future of New England," to which reference has been made elsewhere in this report. Two other notable volumes were brought out during the first year of the depression, one on "The Place of Agriculture in American Life" by Wilson Gee and the second, "An Audit of America" by Edward Eyre Hunt, which was a resume of the two-volume study on "Recent Economic Trends in the United States," published by the National Bureau of Economic Research.

In 1932 the University of Chicago Press published the following radio addresses in pamphlet form, in cooperation with the Bureau:

American Labor in the Nation, by William Green
How Labor Rose from Slavery to Freedom, by Victor A. Olander
How Modern Industry Came to America, by John P. Frey
The Role of Labor in Early American History, by Thomas Kennedy
A Hundred Years of the Labor Movement, by Thomas E. Burke
The Policies of American Labor, by Matthew Woll
What Labor Has Done for Education, by Spencer Miller, Jr.
How Labor Has Secured Free Speech, by Victor A. Olander
How Labor Shapes Public Opinion, by Matthew Woll
Labor in Politics, by John P. Frey
The Closed and Open Shop, by Frank Morrison
Wages and Hours, by John L. Lewis
Technological Unemployment, by James Maloney
Labor and International Relations, by Daniel Tobin
Labor and the News, by Chester Wright
Collective Bargaining, by Charles P. Howard
Labor and Judicial Reform, by James Wilson
Labor and Immigration, by Thomas Flaherty
Labor and the Negro, by Philip Randolph
Labor Legislation, by Paul Scharrenberg

This series of radio addresses has just been published under the title, "American Labor and the Nation," with the cooperation of the University of Chicago Press.

The record of the publication program of the Press was a subject of inquiry by the Carnegie Corporation in 1930-1932, which made the initial grant for this enterprise. In response to a

request for detailed information, a detailed report on receipts and disbursements was prepared, together with a list of titles that had been published and a further statement showing the general distribution of these books and publications.

Publications of the Workers' Bookshelf

This report showed that the distribution of publications had in the main been to eight different groups or agencies; (1) Workers' education enterprises; (2) Labor Unions; (3) Adult Education enterprises; (4) Public and college libraries; (5) Colleges and universities; (6) Government departments; (7) Corporations; and (8) Miscellaneous organizations. Under these several captions the records show that the publications had gone to 116 labor colleges and workers' study classes scattered widely over the country in 30 different states, to 13 labor institutes in half as many states, to 7 week-end conferences and labor forums, to 7 foreign workers' educational enterprises extending as far as Sydney, Australia. Volumes had gone also to 107 national and international unions, 48 State Federations of Labor and 2000 central bodies and local unions in the United States, and upqards of 30 organizations in Canada, Newfoundland, Porto Rico and the Canal Zone. Volumes had gone also to 50 different educational enterprises in various parts of this country and in Europe. Also, books had gone to public and college libraries in upwards of 200 communities. Over 150 colleges and universities had purchased these books for text purposes and approximately 40 different industrial corporations, 50 different miscellaneous organizations in this country and in Europe and the Orient, and some 24 governmental departments in the United States and in foreign lands. In all, upwards of a quarter of a million books and pamphlets have been distributed from the Press during the last eight years, although the last four years of the depression the sale of books and pamphlets has been very greatly decreased.

7. Cooperative Book Service

The cooperative book service, which was begun early in the development of the Bureau, has continued to be utilized by teachers in workers' classes and students in different parts of the country. While the volume of total sales shows a marked falling off during the past four years, the Cooperative Book Service did a total business which amounted to a sum of $1766.66. The savings to the individuals and groups using the service was thus a subst antial one.

8. Registry of Teachers

The depression has had its serious effect upon the employment of teachers. The Bureau's registry service has been maintained without cost and has been particularly active during the past four years in registering applicants for teaching posts.

The serious problems have been in the matter of placement. When it is realized that upwards of 80,000 school teachers are unemployed, it is quite understandable that the problem of placement in the adult education movement should be an extremely difficult matter, even though a special effort was made to provide work relief wages for a considerable group of unemployed teachers in 1931-32. The Bureau purposes to continue this registry of teachers as one of its regular services for the workers' education movement.

9. Research

The Research Department as set up by the Bureau in 1926 under the direction of Edward C. Lindeman,and discontinued two years later, has not been reestablished during the period of the depression. Indeed, it would have been next to impossible with a shrinking budget to have continued such a service, though the value of it had been clearly demonstrated. Some of the studies which were developed during the existence of the Research Department continue to be useful material for the movement. One of the activities which will be resumed when funds permit will be this field of activity to carry forward authoritative research in teaching methods and text-book material.

10. Membership

The membership of the Workers Education Bureau has declined during the past four years. The depression has compelled many of the study classes and trade union colleges to discontinue and central labor bodies and local unions to reduce their expenditures. In 1929 the Bureau could report a membership of 220 individuals and some 710 constituent organizations. Each year this number has dropped. The membership roles showed 604 constituent members in 1932, a majority of whom have been unable to continue their dues. By action of the Executive Committee, service has continued to all who have been unable to pay dues and will continue until such time as normal conditions return. The number of organizations now in active affiliation, that have paid their membership dues in full, represents but a small part of the total membership four years ago. It is clear that one of the problems before the Bureau in the days of reconstruction ahead will be the task of securing virtually the reaffiliation of a large number of organizations that have discontinued the payment of their membership dues during the depression.

11. Finances of the Bureau

(a) General Condition. The complete financial picture of the Bureau during the depression can best be disclosed by examination of the auditor's reports which have been made at regular intervals during the period. These reports are open for inspection by any member of the Bureau interested. They, in brief, disclose the fact that in spite of a declining income

during the two-year period from 1929 to 1931 it was possible to wipe out a deficit of some $8,350.73 and accumulate a surplus of $7,253.35 as of April 30, 1931, making a gross gain of $15,604.08. Part of this is due to the reduction of operating expenses of nearly $5,000 during this period, the expenses during 1929 being $17,887.84 and the average of the yearly expenses for the two-year period ending April 30, 1931 being $15,402.12 and this "despite the fact that the average yearly expenditure for field work during the two years ended April 30, 1931 was $4,215.03 as against $3,032.81 for the year ended April 30, 1932". "Liabilities were reduced from $25,501.92 as of April 30, 1929, to $8,611.85 as of April 30, 1931." The contributions from private sources during this two-year period show a decline that is greater in amount than from trade union sources. In two years the private contributions fell off $4,000, which is 30% of the amount received from that source.

The following year (1932) showed a further increase in the surplus of the Bureau in excess of $4,000. Part of this gain in surplus is due to a further reduction of $2,673.56 in running expenses. Beginning with January 1, 1932, in accordance with the authorization of the Executive Committee, the secretary's and the bookkeeper's salaries were charged to the Bureau and not met jointly by the Press and the Bureau as in previous years. Beginning with February 5, 1932, the salaries of the office staff were temporarily readjusted downward to reduce running expenses further. This reduction was proportionate to the amount of salary received, ranging from 20 per cent of the secretary's salary to 2 per cent of that of one of the part time employees. By special permission of the Executive Committee, the Secretary was authorized to devote part time to the work of the Bureau in order to make a survey of the administration of the National Council of Parent Education. During this eight-month period of acting directorship of that Council (November 1930 to June 1931) Mr. Miller remitted one half of his salary to the treasury of the Bureau. The contributions from individuals during the year showed an even more marked decline representing in all a further reduction of more than 50 per cent of the amount received from outside sources in 1929.

The Bureau is able to report that up to April 30, 1933, during the worse period of the depression, there had been an increase of over $5,000 in the operating surplus and a decrease in the liabilities of $4,612.29. The total expenses for the fiscal year ending April 30, were $14,465.59, which shows a reduction in operating costs from previous years. Again the contributions from private individuals showed a further reduction, which represented nearly three fourths of the amount received in 1929. This amount was offset by emergency grants from the Carnegie Corporation as set forth elsewhere in this report. In order to make further economies to come within the limits of a very much reduced budget, the staff of the Bureau, in accordance with the

recommendation of the officers, had a further reduction in salary through a furloughing of all the members of the staff, some for one month and some for more, and the suspension for the time being of the Workers Education News. By these and other retrenchments an economy of more than $2,500 in the operating expenses of the Bureau was effected.

The Executive Committee faces the year 1933-1934 with a full realization of the seriousness of the financial situation. The possibility of securing private funds is greatly reduced. The prospects of getting increases in the contributions from the trade unions are at best uncertain. The possibility of securing further subsidies from the foundations is also uncertain, although the logic for making such grants was never greater. There is at least ground for hoping that the valuable work which has been done in the past and toward which emergency grants have been made will continue to elicit generous support on the part of the foundations.

The whole future continuance of the workers' education movement is, however, altered by the situation which has been produced by the decision on the part of the Federal Relief Administration to use Federal relief funds for the development of a broad program of adult education among the unemployed. It is confidently expected that these funds as they are used in the various communities about the country will provide for the expenditure of public funds for the development of local adult workers' education projects. Again, the lines of policy have not as yet been clearly defined, but it is not unreasonable to expect that this important departure in the whole field of adult education may result in the making available of Federal funds for education of adult workers. The decision of the United States Commissioner of Education to summon a conference of the leaders of adult education in his office on October 11th, 1933 will undoubtedly give definiteness to this whole program.

(b) Trade Union Support. One of the striking facts in the Bureau's history during the depression was the splendid manner in which the trade unions continued their support. Whereas many of the unions experienced a serious loss both in membership and in funds, they maintained their contributions to the Bureau at a level which was most heartening. On the eve of the depression nearly 50% of the budget of the Bureau came from the trade unions. This was particularly true during the first year of the depression. During the first full year, but two of the national and international unions discontinued their contributions to the Bureau. In both cases there was an expression of appreciation of the services of the Bureau and an assurance that when there was a return to normal conditions they would resume their financial obligations to the Bureau.

In the report of the auditor for the two-year period ending April 30, 1931, the balance sheet shows that $15,188.23 was received in per capita tax and $617.00 in organization member-

ships. This means that for the period of the two years the amount received from the trade unions was approximately $8,000 per year. Aside from the loans negotiated at the bank, this represents a little more than one third of the total budget for the year. In the light of the seriousness of the economic situation which had begun to be felt by the organizations in 1931 it represents a very good showing.

The following fiscal year which ended on April 30, 1932, the auditor's report shows that the per capita dues and organization memberships had dropped to a total of $6,578.86, which is a falling off of a little less than $1,500 per year for this period. This falling off, in fact, represents a group of some eight different organizations that found it necessary to suspend or discontinue payments for financial reasons solely. In every case, it should be added that the Bureau agreed to continue full educational service for the groups without reservation, and in turn each of the organizations assured the Bureau of their desire and intention to resume payments as soon as financial conditions warranted their doing so.

The last fiscal year of the depression, which ended April 30, 1933, shows a still further falling off of receipts from the unions to a total of $4,739.35. This represents in point of fact a loss of some seven different organizations that were compelled to discontinue because of financial reasons. Since April 30 there has been but one organization that has had to discontinue its payments.

In all, then, there have been some seventeen national and international unions that have been compelled by virtue of the financial situation to discontinue their payments. The burden of support has correspondingly fallen on a considerably smaller number of the organizations, but it is the hope of the Committee that with the recovery of economic conditions it will be possible to resume more normal sources of income from the trade unions. Certainly the splendid way in which the trade unions have continued their support of the Bureau during these difficult days is one of the best indications of labor's belief in the fundamental value of the service of workers' education to the trade union movement.

(c) Emergency Grants from the Carnegie Corporation. The Executive Committee of the Bureau at its last report made specific reference to its policy on questions of finances. The policy of widening the base of trade union support has in no wise been modified by any subsequent action of the Executive Committee. Under the spur of necessity, however, and due to the serious curtailment in contributions from both individual sources and from the trade unions, it has been necessary for the Executive Committee to present appeals for emergency grants to the Carnegie Corporation during the past four years.

Early in 1930 the Executive Committee submitted an application to the Carnegie Corporation for an amount of $5,000 to develop a correspondence program for wage earners. At the time it was hoped that the experiment could be inaugurated by the Bureau looking toward the development of home study work for wage earners that would be uninfluenced by the commercial considerations that had influenced the policy of so many correspondence courses that were sold to workers. The Bureau had had a modest experience in the conduct of these courses and it was felt that such an enterprise would not only perform a useful service but might similarly serve to provide a source of additional revenue for the work of the Bureau. Shortly after this grant had been made, however, the depression had set in and it was felt almost inevitable that the development of such a program would have to be deferred until after the period of economic distress was at an end. Accordingly, with the approval of the Carnegie Corporation, the amount of $5,000 which had thus been granted was made available as an emergency grant from the Corporation and was supplemented by an additional sum in like amount. The Commitee, in accordance with this authorization from the Trustees, determined to defer the plan for Correspondence instruction until a later date.

During the second year of the depression, the shortage of funds from private individuals had increased to such an extent that that portion of the Bureau's budget which formerly had been derived from this source had declined to a very small amount. Taken together with the death of a number of the generous supporters of the Bureau, the situation became increasingly serious, so far as the maintenance of the normal activities of the Bureau was concerned. Accordingly, a second application was submitted to the Corporation for an amount of $12,000 to carry forward the work of the Bureau during the second full year of the depression. With the approval of the American Association for Adult Education, the Trustees made this grant, which made it possible for the Bureau to maintain its work at a reasonable standard of efficiency.

With the creation of the National Advisory Council on the Radio in Education, the Workers Education Bureau was invited to cooperate with the American Federation of Labor in developing a program of the radio in education. The plans for this program were deferred until 1932, with the understanding that $5,000 of the amount which had been appropriated as an emergency grant from the Carnegie Corporation in 1931 should be applied for the conduct of this program and that this amount should be reimbursed to the Bureau by a subsequent grant from the Carnegie Corporation. Accordingly, when the Executive Committee submitted its application to the Corporation for an emergency grant during the third year of the depression, the total amount requested was $17,000, $12,000 as an emergency grant toward the program of the Bureau and $5,000 as a reimbursement for the amount that had been allocated for the radio program.

In summary, then, the Bureau has received from the Carnegie Corporation the amount of $29,000 in the past three years toward the support of its general program, $5,000 originally granted for a correspondence project and $5,000 for a radio program, amounting to a total of $39,000.

12. Contacts With Other Educational Bodies

The officers of the Bureau have been invited to delegate a representative on an increasing number of other educational bodies in the development of their programs for adults. The contacts of the Bureau on these bodies has been in most cases through the person of the Secretary who has been able to bring the experience of the Workers' Education movement to bear upon other related activities. The educational agencies, in part, on which the Secretary has been invited to serve during the past four years is as follows:

American Association for Adult Education, Executive Board
Committee on International Relations
Committee on Cooperation with Industry and Labor

Vocational Bureau for Juniors, National Council

National Occupational Conference

Adjustment Service of New York, Executive Committee

New York Council for Adult Education, Executive Committee

Citizens Committee on the Crisis in American Education

Committee on Youth in Industry of the White House Conference

International Industrial Relations Association,
Executive Committee

National Advisory Council of the Radio in Education
Board of Directors

Committee on Visual Education, Executive Committee

Committee on the Use of Leisure Time of the N. I. R. A.

Citizens Committee on Public Libraries

Committee on Unemployed Youth, Executive Committee

Committee of Agencies on the Civilian Conservation Corps

While membership on these committees has consumed a considerable amount of time of the secretary, it is felt that it was a useable contact for the Bureau.

IV. THE GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF WORKERS' EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

The four years of economic adversity have taken a heavy toll of workers' educational enterprises in the United States. Those educational programs that have been linked closely with National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, and Central Bodies have been seriously affected by loss of revenue. So, too, have those that depended on private aid. The exception to this rule has been the case of those educational programs for workers supported from tax funds, such as in California and Wisconsin. In a number of cases emergency grants from the foundations have enabled enterprises to continue to function. Against this disruptive effect of the depression on many enterprises there have been a number of important developments which deserve to be recorded in a brief review.

1. Resident Workers' Schools

Brookwood and Commonwealth, the two older resident workers' schools in the United States, have continued to function during the entire period, with serious curtailments in their budgets and programs, and important changes in personnel. Two important changes that should be recorded are the selection of Lucien Koch as a successor to Dr. William Zeuch at Commonwealth and Tucker Smith as successor to A. J. Muste at Brookwood.

One of the encouraging aspects of the past four years has been the development of a new resident workers' school at West Park, New York. The Vineyard Shore School was opened in October 1929 by the Directors of the Bryn Mawr and the Barnard Summer Schools to provide an opportunity for resident instruction during the winter months of those workers who had begun their educational activities at the Summer Schools for Women Workers. The Vineyard Shore School, under the direction of Miss Ernestine Friedmann, has been functioning now for a period of four years, providing courses in English, science, economics, history, with some emphasis on art and the drama.

Two years ago the Women's Section of the Gibson Committee in New York permitted a selected group of unemployed industrial girls to use funds received as work relief wages to be applied as maintenance for residence instruction at the Vineyard Shore School. This amount paid a portion of their tuition, the balance of which was made up from private contributions.

With the completion of the work of the Gibson Committee this aid has been stopped and Vineyard Shore has been closed for the remainder of 1933 but arrangements are now being made to reopen in 1934.

2. Summer Schools

There have been a number of important developments among

the Summer Schools for Workers during the past four years. One school has been forced to discontinue due to the lack of funds but at least three new schools have been started that should be permanent additions to the summer school movement.

At Occidental College in Los Angeles the first Summer School for Workers on a college campus was opened in August of this year for a period of one month. It should be added that in previous years John Kerchen, Director of Workers' Education, has conducted summer schools for workers in the State but not on college campuses. The Occidental Summer School, however, grew out of an activity begun by several graduates of the eastern Workers' Summer Schools as far back as 1929 and was conducted under the management of a joint committee consisting of the Board of Trustees of Occidental College, the California Association for Adult Education, the California State Federation of Labor, the Department of Workers' Education, the Extension Division of the University of California, the Young Women's Christian Association. Courses in history, economics, English and literature, and government were presented by competent instructors to a group of 29 students. The first summer's work proved to be a marked success and this will become a permanent activity.

On the campus of Oberlin College, at Oberlin, Ohio, the first Institute for Office Workers, a two-week school for white-collar workers, was set up in August of this year. A group of 24 girls were enrolled from the Middle West and the South. The course of study was similar to, if somewhat more elementary than those at some of the other schools. This pioneer venture among office workers proved so successful that it will be continued another year with the cordial assistance of the President and Trustees of Oberlin College.

Commonwealth College at Mena, Arkansas, held its second summer session for a period of ten weeks during 1933. Some 30 students drawn for the most part from the Southwest combined work and education in accordance with the program of the winter school. The subjects of study ranged from public speaking to Marxism, and the instructors for the most part contributed their services, aside from their maintenance.

The Barnard Summer School, which has been conducted for the past seven years as a non-resident Summer School for Women Workers in Industry in New York City, was compelled during the summer of 1933, because of shortage of funds, to utilize the equipment at the Vineyard Shore School for its summer session. The program was in all respects like the regular Barnard program save that the setting was changed from city to country and an opportunity afforded for the residence of all of the students at West Park, New York.

The Wisconsin Summer School for Workers in Industry at Madison, Wisconsin, which began originally for women workers and then opened its doors to men, revealed an interesting transformation

in the summer of 1933 with the enrollment of three times as many men workers as women.

The Bryn Mawr Summer School has continued its program with modifications both in curriculum and in length of residence but at the same high level of instruction during the past four years.

The Southern Summer School, which has met in the past few years on the campus of a boys' school near Hendersonville, North Carolina, returned in 1933 to the campus of Carolina New College at Burnsville in the same state, where it had met earlier in its history. The plan of work and character of the women students from Southern industry have been much the same.

During the past four years Brookwood has conducted a number of summer schools as in the past - some on its own responsibility and others in cooperation with such organizations as the Cooperative League of America.

The Opportunity School for Mill Operatives has continued its summer school program in South Carolina in spite of the serious crisis in the textile industry. This School, which met for a number of years on the campus at Erskine College, moved to Clemson College, South Carolina, where it has provided a unique type of educational opportunity for a group of over 200 workers of both sexes over the age of fourteen, who have not gone beyond the seventh grade in day school. The range in ages has varied from fourteen to forty and over.

The League Summer School for Office Workers which was conducted successfully for six successive summers at Miller's Place on Long Island was compelled to discontinue its program in 1930, largely through lack of funds. The loss of this school removes one center where the instruction in art was particularly welcome.

3. Labor Institutes

The program for labor institutes as developed especially under the leadership of the Bureau has had a particularly notable development during the past two years, as described in Part III of this report. Institutes and Conferences under the auspices of other workers' educational groups have also been held during the past four years in the South, at Madison, Wisconsin, at Brookwood, and other centers. The technique of these institutes as developed both under the leadership of the Bureau and of other groups promises to be a part of the well accepted technique for workers' education.

4. Study Classes

The mortality of study classes and trade union colleges during the depression has been extremely heavy. With prolongation of unemployment and a consequent unsettlement of both the morale and the interest of workers in education, the study groups have been seriously affected. It would be difficult to estimate

the net effect of the depression on the workers' education movement in the local unions, but it can be confidently asserted that at least one half of the enterprises that were functioning prior to the depression have either gone out of business entirely or else have continued to function on a very much reduced basis. One of the efforts that is being made in connection with this Convention is to make an up-to-date list of all such study classes throughout the country. One thing, however, is clear, that some method must be employed to stimulate those centers where educational interest once existed but is now completely eclipsed.

One new type of workers' educational enterprise which had a notable record during the past four years has been the Art Workshop in New York, which provides an opportunity to workers in industry and women in professions for creative experience in leisure time. Work in painting, the plastic arts, music, drama, and writing make up the program. At a time when an increasing interest is being taken in the development of leisure time activities for workers, the work begun by the Art Workshop and carried forward so effectively during the depression years may prove a useful guide. Already a similar project has been established in Chicago among groups formerly active in the classes started at the Womens' Trade Union League.

While there has been a decline in the number of study classes during the period under review, there has also been a new realization of the importance of better organization and the continuous service of some responsible educational director. The success of the study classes set up by the Affiliated Schools for Workers is due in part to the splendid direction given to them by the Educational Secretary.

Two recent events among the workers' education groups in New Jersey and Connecticut may be enlightening on this point. The attendants at the Rutgers Labor Institute held in June 1933 were agreed on the desirability of a state-wide association to quicken local interests and support closer cooperation among workers' educational groups in the state. Such a non-partisan association has been approved by the New Jersey State Federation of Labor and will be developed during the next few months.

In Connecticut the program has progressed even further. As a result of a successful Labor Institute which was held in that state in July 1933, it was decided to develop a state-wide Workers' Educational Association. An effort is now being made to raise the necessary funds to continue in the field a full time director whose efforts during the past three months have been responsible for a quickened interest among the workers of Connecticut in workers' education.

5. Cooperation with the Affiliated Schools for Workers

The Bureau has during the past four years developed a wider basis of cooperation with the Affiliated Schools for Work-

ers. For nearly ten years the Bureau has placed its shipping facilities at the service of the Affiliated Schools, especially in connection with the volume on "Women Workers in Industry," by Hilda W. Smith. On at least one occasion a joint conference has been held to consider the problem of teaching methods, for teachers in the New York area. This is obviously but a beginning in a wider cooperative endeavor.

The joint efforts of Miss Smith, Director of the Affiliated Schools and the Secretary of the Bureau in connection with the new program of Federal relief aid for adult education, to which extended reference is made elsewhere, is tangible evidence both of the possibility of such cooperation and its ultimate value to the workers' educational movement.

V. THE PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN WORKERS' EDUCATION

Twelve years of consecutive experience in American workers' education have resolved certain problems and in turn raised new problems. Workers' education, so long as it remains a dynamic and flexible educational movement, will be developing new methods and testing old methods in the light of new situations. We enumerate in this report some of these problems upon which the delegates to this Seventh National Convention will wish to give thoughtful consideration. At the outset, however, we place the problem of problems before American workers' education to-day - namely, its relation to the Federal Government in view of the action taken recently by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in authorizing the use of Federal funds for financing adult education.

1. Financing Adult Education

The officers of the Bureau have stressed repeatedly the importance of developing in this country some form of state or Federal aid for the whole workers' education movement. It has been felt that one of the ways in which the movement is to become a permanent part of our national education effort is to receive some funds from tax sources. This might come directly from the state or local units of government or under special circumstances be a grant-in-aid from the Federal government. As a beginning in this direction a representative of the Bureau worked out with the officials in California a plan for the joint administration of such a labor education fund especially set aside for this purpose. The plan has been successful and the Bureau has urged the California Plan on other states. Wisconsin has followed this plan and other states, such as Wyoming, Oregon, Texas, and New Je sey, would have undoubtedly followed had it not been for the depression.

The European practice has been enlightening on the matter of providing subsidies in aid of adult education. In Denmark, for example, such grants have been made through the Ministry of Education for a period of upwards of fifty years. In Sweden generous help has come from the Government. In England the Work ers' Educational Association has received grants from the local educational authorities and from the Ministry of Education since 1908. In more recent years a similar practice has been followed in Germany for the Folk High School movement. A similar practice has been followed in Belgium. Indeed, it is not too much to say that it is the rule rather than the exception in those countries where there is a vigorous adult education movement for it to receive financial aid from the central government. During the recent world economic crisis these grants have in many cases been reduced in these countries though the principle remains unchanged.

On the basis of this European precedent and experience wit this method, it has been the feeling of the leaders of the adult

education movement in this country that a similar procedure might be followed. As a preliminary step it was suggested by the workers' education group, at a meeting of the American Association for Adult Education in 1931, that the Federal government undertake a survey of the matter. This proposal was turned over to the Commissioner of Education, who decided that the time was not ripe to explore this possibility, because of the depression.

The coming of the new administration and the development of a broad program of Federal relief for the unemployed has created a new and in some respects a novel situation. As a part of the legislation of the New Deal, provision was made for the granting of $500,000,000 to the Federal Emergency Relief Administration for allocation to the several states in proportion to their relief need and in proportion to their own quotas. When it became clear that one of the problems of unemployment that was most serious was the matter of unemployed teachers, the suggestion was made that some program might be worked out for the employment of unemployed school teachers to instruct adult illiterates. It was thought that such a device would prove to be useful in connection with the program of providing made-work for these unemployed teachers. The experience which had been gained in New York State in connection with these unemployed teachers at the so-called "Unemployed Universities" disclosed a technique for carrying on this piece of work. It was estimated that upwards of 30,000 persons had been enrolled in these various Unemployed Universities and that nearly 1500 teachers had been paid work relief wages for the instruction of this group of men and women. While the work was general in character and somewhat uneven in nature it proved to be a significant experiment in connection with the whole problem of the unemployed.

With the appointment of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and the selection of Harry Hopkins as Director, it became at once clear that a way might be found for the utilization of some of these emergency relief funds for work relief wages of this kind throughout the country. The Secretary of the Bureau called upon representatives of the Office of Education, conferred with the Director of Adult Education and the Commissioner of Education, and urged that some provision should be made for the utilization of such funds for the benefit of adult workers. He urged further that an opportunity was here in connection with the whole N. R. A. program and the general emergency to lay the foundations for a broad program of adult education in this country. He also conferred with Mr. Bookman of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and similarly emphasized the desirability of such a program. Miss Hilda Smith, Director of the Affiliated Schools for Workers, also urged upon the members of the Office of Education the need for a broader program to include adult workers.

On August 19 the Federal Emergency Relief Administration issued an authorization for the granting of funds for teaching unemployed illiterates, which had been evolved at an earlier conference; it is as follows:

"Your relief commission is authorized to use Federal relief funds now available or to be made available by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration to pay work relief wages to needy unemployed teachers or other persons competent to teach and assign them to class rooms up through the eighth grade, provided: first, that these teachers are assigned by the relief offices to appropriate educational authorities who will have entire supervision over their activities; secondly, provided that they are assigned only to those schools which prior to this date have been ordered closed or partially closed for the coming school year because of lack of funds; third, this applies only to rural counties. State Relief Administrations are also authorized and urged to pay from above funds relief work wages to needy unemployed persons competent to teach adults unable to read and write English. This applies to cities as well as rural counties. Under no circumstances should relief funds be used to relieve counties of their proper responsibility for education, nor should these activities permit the substitution of relief teachers for regularly employed teachers."

Subsequently, in a series of conferences with the Commissioner of Education and in cooperation with Miss Hilda Smith, the proposal for extending this order took a more definite form. Upon the request of the Commissioner of Education and the Director of Adult Education two memoranda were prepared, by Miss Smith and the Secretary, one dealing with the education of adult workers to meet the new responsibilities under the government program of industrial reconstruction; the other concerned with the education of young people displaced from industry by the regulations of the N. R. A. The first of these has particular importance to the workers' education movement:

"I. <u>The Problem</u>

"The worker in America to-day faces the problem of industrial recovery with high hopes but with great bewilderment. A new political and economic philosophy is being developed by the federal government under the stress of a grave national emergency. The success of the government's efforts must depend largely on the extent to which the workers understand their new civic and industrial responsibilities. The present educational facilities in the United States are not adequate to meet the urgent needs of workers for understanding.

"It has been the experience of workers' education groups over a period of thirteen years that workers will respond to an educational program which will illumine their own problems, leading to constructive participation in community action. For such a program of education a special method of instruction must be assured.

"The Secretary of Labor has just reported to the nation that 1,100,000 workers have been re-employed in the past four months. This is most heartening. With the hope of the N. R. A. to secure the re-employment of 5,000,000 workers by Labor Day we should have a substantial reduction in the volume of unemployment. There will still remain, however, not less than 6,000,000 workers for whom re-employment in the near future is unlikely. Of this group it is estimated that there will be no less than 50,000 unemployed teachers who could be organized and trained for service in this field.

"To initiate such a program would serve the double purpose of providing employment for the well-qualified teachers in this group, and also lay the foundation for a program of education designed to help workers understand the problems of economic reconstruction.

"The use of public funds for this purpose would enable the United States to meet an urgent educational need in a manner comparable to the best standards established by European countries.

"II. Plan of Action

"In cooperation with the state educational authorities to coordinate the existing programs of organizations concerned with this field of education; to organize new schools and classes where necessary, of various types (including evening and daytime classes, week-end schools, institutes, summer and winter resident and non-resident schools); to train unemployed teachers in a new method of experimental education for these groups; to conduct a department in educational method and research in teaching problems; to prepare and distribute suitable pamphlet material; to institute a placement service in cooperation with various community organizations, enabling workers to meet their new responsibilities through intelligent action.

"The supervision of this program should be under a national director of workers' education in the Office of Education, together with directors of workers' education in the several states.

"It is suggested that the sum of $10,000,000 be appropriated from the Emergency Relief Fund to carry out the purposes of this proposal."

These memoranda as prepared jointly by Miss Smith and the Secretary were submitted to the Commissioner of Education, to the Secretary of Labor, as well as to the Federal Emergency Relief Ad-

ministrator.

It also became clear to the Secretary and Miss Smith that the action on the part of the Federal Emergency Relief Administrator in authorizing the use of Federal relief funds for the teaching of illiterates could become a precedent for a wider expansion of the whole program. To secure the assent of the State Superintendents of Education, who were meeting in Washington early in September, it was thought wise to secure the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor. Accordingly, a memorandum was prepared for the President of the American Federation of Labor to issue to the public press in support of this program. This statement, which follows, was issued on August 27 to the press in general:

> "If the 12,000,000 illiterates in the United States were able to read, they would rejoice to learn that the Federal Government is at last ready to make a determined effort to meet their problem.
>
> "The announcement of the Federal Relief Administration that it is prepared to pay work-relief wages to unemployed teachers competent to teach adults unable to read and write English marks an important step forward, not only in providing a creative form of employment for a substantial number of the 80,000 idle teachers, but also provides a basis for a broad program of adult education in America.
>
> "Each day it becomes increasingly clear that the success of the program of economic reconstruction, sponsored by the new administration, depends upon a program of continuing education for the whole citizenship. The education of the adult worker, both as a producer and a consumer, is imperative, if he is to do his part in restoring a larger measure of well-being to the people of this country.
>
> "This action on the part of the relief administration implies a continuing program of education, after the first stage of adult literacy has been attained.
>
> "In making provision for their educational needs at this time, we must at the same time lay the foundation for an integrated system of education, providing for their cultural as well as their vocational need. With the shorter working day, this combination has become indispensable."

A letter was also prepared for the President of the American Federation of Labor, which was sent to all of the Central Labor Unions throughout the country, urging their cooperation in requesting State and Local Superintendents of Education to take the requisite action for the development in each state of programs of economic education for wage earners, in addition to the plan of paying work relief wages to unemployed teachers.

As a direct result of these activities on the part of the Secretary in cooperation with Miss Smith, there was issued by the Federal Emergency Relief Administrator on September 15 the following memorandum, which extends the range of this whole program to cover the general subject of adult education:

> "On August 19th your Relief Administration was authorized to use Federal Emergency Relief funds to pay work-relief wages to needy unemployed persons competent to teach in rural schools and to teach adults to read and write English. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration now extends that authority to include the use of Federal Emergency Relief funds now available or to be made available by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration for the employment of needy unemployed persons on relief who are qualified to teach: (1) Unemployed adults who are in need of vocational training or adjustment to make them employable, many of whom are, and will continue to be, unemployable without this training; (2) Unemployed adults who are physically handicapped and need, through vocational rehabilitation service, additional training in work opportunities; and (3) Unemployed adults who are in need of further general educational opportunities to fit them to take their part as self-supporting, self-respecting citizens.
>
> "Cooperation with the State Board of Education and the State Board for Vocational Education will insure adequate administrative and supervisory service necessary to the efficient development of this program. In the event that you desire to develop a program of training along these lines for the unemployed in your State, it is suggested that you make contact immediately with the boards referred to above.
>
> "This program will furnish work-relief employment to thousands of needy unemployed men and women and will, at the same time, offer educational opportunities to our unemployed."

There was received by the Secretary a letter from the Commissioner of Education conveying this information, which is printed herewith:

> "I am sending to you herewith a copy of a statement which Mr. Harry Hopkins has just authorized. You will see that it opens up the doors for an extension of adult educational opportunities very much as we have all desired. I am very much gratified indeed that Mr. Hopkins has been willing to go forward with this program."

The above memorandum was corrected further at the suggestion of Miss Smith and the Secretary to read in section (3): "Unemployed <u>and other adults</u> who are in need of further general educational opportunities," etc.

Subsequent to the issuance of this statement, the Secretary was invited to meet with a special committee called informally by Dr. Keppel of the Carnegie Corporation and an extended memorandum was prepared for the Commissioner of Education, which was delivered by Mr. Cartwright, the Director of the American Association for Adult Education, on Tuesday, September 19. This memorandum, which covered the field of rural adult education, vocational education, educational adjustment, and general adult education, contained a proposal for the broader integration of the entire educational effort under the authority of the Office of Education. In particular, the last section of this report relates to the field of adult and workers' education. That part of the report, together with the concluding statement, is as follows:

"That adult education should today be recognized as an essential part of the great effort upon which the American people is now engaged is in itself a tribute to the growth of the adult education movement during the last ten years. This movement has taken many forms, and some of its most vital elements have developed, not under the agencies of formal education, but under community and other unofficial organizations. If, therefore, the present program is to be conceived of as something more than an emergency device, as part of a long-time effort of the community, it is clear that great care should be taken to avoid duplication through utilization of the facilities provided by private agencies and those in which various civic organizations possess a compelling interest. Provision should be made for the allocation of funds for approved programs offered by community and other unofficial agencies in cooperation with the central program. It is recognized, of course, that the heaviest burden will be borne by the two great public agencies, the public schools and the public libraries. It is also important to secure the cooperation and assistance of those national and responsible state and local organizations that have already developed leadership in their respective fields.

"It would facilitate the general purposes of this section of the program if local communities were required to base their requests upon quick preliminary surveys of the local facilities open to unemployed adults. Experience has shown that under competent direction such surveys can be made both rapidly and accurately. Notably in the cases of New York and Cleveland it has been evidenced that the quick surveys insure a better coordination of the program and in the end lead to more efficient service.

"Wide experience in the field of adult education shows that it will be necessary to provide for the selection and special training of teachers for the instruction of adults. State projects submitted for approval should include provision for such special selection and for

brief training institutes at frequent intervals. Some of the techniques developed by the Adjustment Service in New York City to explore the interests of adults could be utilized with effectiveness in the selection of unemployed persons for such teaching positions.

"Any well-rounded general adult education program designed to aid unemployed adults to become self-supporting and self-respecting citizens should include not only an understanding of their economic and political responsibilities, but should offer opportunities for the appreciation of art, music, and the drama, and should provide other salutary avocational interests.

"Since it is clear that citizenship education is a chief objective of this effort, attention should be drawn to the community-wide experiment now being conducted in Des Moines, Iowa, under the leadership of the Superintendent of Schools. The adult education program might well be furthered through adoption of the plan of the Des Moines project, which embraces a series of some thirty discussion forums meeting regularly in school buildings.

Organization

"The effectiveness of the national adult education program will depend in large degree upon the quality of leadership developed at the national headquarters. It is customary in matters of this kind to appoint a large national committee. Whether or not this proves to be necessary in this case, the committee suggests that there be constituted a small advisory board of from seven to eleven members which would meet at the call of the Commissioner of Education and of his lieutenants charged with responsibility for the administration of the program.

"The committee feels that the Commissioner of Education should secure an outstanding leader in the field of adult education to serve as the director of this effort. For obvious reasons, he should come to Washington at a salary of one dollar a year, for the type of man visualized in this position by the committee would command for his services rates beyond the Federal scale. This individual should have a free hand in building up a staff to have charge of the various divisions of the program.

"Each of the individuals signing this memorandum is the responsible officer of an organization of national scope or influence. Each feels himself able to pledge the facilities of his organization to the end that the Federal government has in view.

"The committee is sensible of the unique opportunity that

is made possible through the promulgation of the order of the Federal Relief Administrator to lay the foundation in this country for a broad program of adult education."

One of the first tangible outcomes of this new plan is the appointment of Miss Hilda Smith in the office of the Federal Relief Administrator to cooperate with the various states in the development of these programs.

No final announcements have yet been made with reference to this whole program, but it may be reasonably asserted that the groundwork has now finally been laid for the broadening of the whole basis of adult education in this country through the provision for this grant of Federal funds. It marks a new milestone toward which the Bureau has steadfastly directed its steps from the outset. It is the judgment of your Committee that the action is of such far-reaching importance that a special committee of the Bureau might appropriately be created to give this matter their most earnest thought. It may also be said that no matter will come before the national conference of the Bureau which will be of greater moment to the future of the adult education movement in this country than this subject.

2. Teacher Training

The serious problem of unemployment among teachers during the depression, together with the difficulties of securing qualified teachers to teach unemployed adult workers, has emphasized again the need for some adequate training program for teachers of adults in this country, especially in the whole field of workers' education. The Secretary of the Bureau during the past four years has been a special lecturer in the course on Adult Education given at Teachers College of Columbia University. Something more is needed, however, than this type of effort. A body of experience is available in the more successful workers' education centers. A systematic effort to utilize this experience is needed. Furthermore, one of the first needs in connection with this whole program of adult education as contemplated under Federal relief grants is that of teacher training. An opportunity is present for some experimentation. It is hoped that some way may be found to work out a detailed plan for the workers' education field that can be put into execution during the course of the next twelve months.

3. Text-Books

The problem of text-book material continues to be one of the pressing questions in the whole workers' education movement. As methods of instruction improve and as the general reading interest of wage earners becomes more highly stimulated, the type of text-book inevitably must change. The Bureau, which has made a beginning in this field through the publication of nearly sixty titles can point to a body of real experience. Yet it lays no claim to superior wisdom in the matter. There remains the per-

petual problem of developing and publishing new material in the most useful and arresting form for workers. Experimentation alone will bring the desired result. Here again is a matter which should receive the serious consideration of the leaders of the workers' education movement at this Convention; it will help to clarify the objective to be sought if there can be a frank exchange of experience.

4. Curriculum

At the last national convention of the Bureau a notable outline for the curriculum was worked out by the committee on that subject. This statement, excellent as it was, needs to be reconsidered in the light of the experience gained during the depression. The question of economic recovery lies ahead. Some of the fundamentals as laid down in that program remain; on the other hand, the growing interest on the part of workers in the arts and in science constitutes an emphasis that needs to be considered. Where this avocational interest of labor will lead and what it denotes would be difficult to forecast at the moment. It still remains true, however, to say that this whole field of the curriculum is one that needs to be re-explored at frequent intervals. At no time does the curriculum need to be re-oriented to the current situation than at present. Workers might very well take the lead in this undertaking.

5. Basis of Cooperation

One of the clearly demonstrated facts in the period of the depression has been the drawing together of the various enterprises in the whole field of workers' education. Such closer cooperation is not only desirable but is in the interest of a broader program of economy of effort in the achievement of our goal.

The exhibit which has been prepared for the delegates to the Convention has been brought together under the direction of a committee consisting of:

Ernestine Friedmann, Chairman - Vineyard Shore School
Fannia M. Cohn - International Ladies Garment Workers Union
Louise McLaren - Southern Summer School
Louis Marciante - Rutgers Labor Institute
Harry Russell - New England representative, Workers Education Bureau
John J. Schnell - Michigan Labor Institute
Alice Shoemaker - Wisconsin Summer School
John Gross - Colorado Workers' Education Movement
Lucien Koch - Commonwealth College
John Kerchen - California Workers' Education Movement
Tucker Smith - Brookwood
Eleanor Coit - Affiliated Schools for Workers
Paul Fuller - Georgia Workers' Classes

These men and women represent in their persons a wide variety

of workers' educational enterprises. They have generously and without reservation agreed to cooperate. It is the hope of the Bureau that as a result of this cooperation a closer link can be forged with the various groups within the workers' education movement. It would be most helpful. In view of the deliberate effort of various sections of the trade union movement t draw more closely together in connection with the whole industrial recovery program, it seems logical to suppose that the workers' education movement should similarly effect a closer cooperation. The Executive Committee is prepared to explore the possibilities of a more inclusive plan of cooperation in connection with the whole workers' education movement through a coordinating council or perhaps through modifications in the constitution.

CONCLUSION

This report, then, ends where it began, namely, with the effect of a depression on the whole field of workers' education. If the record of these pages carries a note of discouragement for those to whom the workers' education movement has been a cause worth striving for, it should be said by way of consolation that for the relatively new educational movement of labor in this country to have survived at all the devastating conditions through which we have passed is a tribute to its vitality. Furthermore, there are evidences aplenty of a new and significant revival of interest among workers in education which, if it is a little indefinite at the moment, is nevertheless to be reckoned with in the immediate future. In part, the reason for this quickened interest arises out of the new status in which labor finds itself under the National Industrial Recovery Act. Labor, indeed, faces a new day. Labor cannot hope to realize to the full these new opportunities and responsibilities without understanding them. Furthermore, the very new relationship in which labor finds itself makes an increasing demand for a wider knowledge of the problems not only of a single shop but of industry as a whole. Here is a task which will challenge the intelligence and capacity of labor to the utmost.

Nor is it amiss to affirm that as the recovery program has conceived of industry as the unit of activity labor must re-examine the whole structural basis upon which the movement has been built. Can the old craft unionism be adapted to serve the needs of industrial recovery? This is for labor itself to decide. But one thing seems clear. The new program provides a new status for American workers in industrial relations. Labor must cultivate an openness of mind if it is to meet the challenge of this new day. Then there is the problem of the vast additions to membership. How can labor bring to these new members an understanding of the aims of labor save by the methods of education - of workers' education?

If it is true to say, then, that the workers' education movement has suffered a recession during the period of the economic crisis, it is due more to the serious curtailment of finances than to a lessening of interest in the general purposes of workers' education. While the workers' education movement cannot be created merely by the expenditure of money, its extension and sound development can be seriously handicapped by the lack of funds. The possibility, therefore, of the use of Federal funds in the development of a broad program of adult education for industrial workers as discussed at length in one section of this report is a most important event for the future. It will inevitably require adjustments in methods and approach; it may require a closer coordination between the workers' education movement and the public educational authorities. But it does hold out the promise of funds from public sources for the carrying on of a program of education for adult workers which has long since established its contribution to the public welfare.

There is, finally, to be drawn from this period of adversity still another element of hopefulness. It is the growing spirit of cooperation among the various elements in the field of workers' education. In part this has been amply demonstrated by the joint efforts which have been made during this Convention; in part it is disclosed in local educational groups throughout the country. Adversity has the effect frequently of developing a spirit of solidarity which is absent in times of prosperity; it has brought the leaders of workers' education closer together. If indeed that be the net effect of this period of depression, the American workers' education movement may become a more integrated movement than ever before and thus become a more dynamic service to labor in this new era of social reconstruction.

It is in this spirit of closer cooperative effort for the task ahead that the Executive Committee attach their signatures to this report as a record of the work done and as a promise of the high adventure that lies ahead.

Respectfully submitted,

Thomas E. Burke, President
Matthew Woll, Chairman
Thomas Kennedy, Treasurer
Fannia M. Cohn
Paul W. Fuller
John L. Kerchen
Elmer E. Milliman
Victor A. Olander
George W. Perkins
Harry A. Russell
Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary

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